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DODE-00 EA-07 EUR-12 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NASA-01

NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

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SUBJECT: WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC) AND QUESTION OF
SPECIAL UNGA SESSION ON DISARMAMENT: PRELIMINARY GUIDANCE

REF: (A) USUN 4631; (B) USUN 4762; (C) USUN 4907; (ALL
NOTAL)

1. UNGA GENERAL DEBATE GAVE NO STRONG SIGNAL OF ANY CON-
CERTED EFFORT TO PRESS FOR DECISION BY CURRENT ASSEMBLY
TO CONVENE SPECIAL SESSION (SS) ON DISARMAMENT. NEVERTHE-
LESS, IN LIGHT OF TREATMENT OF SS QUESTION AT RECENT LIMA
NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE, WE DO NOT RULE OUT POSSIBILITY
THAT RESOLUTION MIGHT BE INTRODUCED CALLING FOR SUCH A
SESSION, ESPECIALLY IF MOVEMENT TOWARD WDC CONTINUES TO
APPEAR UNFEASIBLE. (NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE FINAL DOCUMENT
CALLED FOR CONVENING SS "IF IT BECOMES EVIDENT THAT IT
WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO CONVENE WDC." RELATIVELY FEW
NON-ALIGNED (MALAYSIA, NIGERIA, PERU, YUGOSLAVIA AND
ZAMBIA) PLUS ROMANIA ADDRESSED MATTER IN ASSEMBLY DEBATE,
TAKING VARIANTS OF ABOVE LINE. SWEDISH MFA UNDER SECRE-
TARY OF STATE INGA THORSSON TOLD ACDA DIRECTOR IKLE SEPT
19 THAT SHE HAD IMPRESSION NON-ALIGNED WOULD WAIT ONE MORE
YEAR TO SEE WHETHER WDC IS FEASIBLE, AND IF NOT WOULD CALL
FOR SS IN 1977).

2. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT RESOLUTION IS NOT REQUIRED TO
CONVENE SS; PROCESS COULD BE SET IN MOTION AT ANYTIME BY
LETTER OF REQUEST FROM ANY UNGA MEMBER (ACTUAL CONVOCATION
WOULD REQUIRE CONCURRENCE OF MAJORITY OF UN MEMBERS).
OBVIOUSLY, IN SUCH CASE WE WOULD HAVE VIRTUALLY NO
INFLUENCE OVER MODALITIES OF SESSION, WHEREAS IF SS WERE
TO BE SUBJECT OF UNGA RES THERE MIGHT BE POSSIBILITY OF
SOME NEGOTIABILITY AS TO TIMING, DURATION, AND SUBJECT
MATTER.

3. WE ASSUME THAT PROPOSAL FOR DISARMAMENT SS WOULD
RECEIVE SUPPORT OF MOST NON-ALIGNED, ALTHOUGH THERE MIGHT
BE DIFFERENCES OVER TIMING. EXCEPT FOR ROMANIA, SOV
BLOC WOULD BE EXPECTED NOT TO SUPPORT SS BUT TO CONTINUE
TO PREFER USSR-INITIATED WDC PROPOSAL. POSITIONS OF
WESTERN ALLIES WOULD BE LIKELY TO VARY, WITH SEVERAL
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PERHAPS SUPPORTING SS AS MEANS OF ENCOURAGING CHINESE
(AND FRENCH) ENGAGEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL ARMS CONTROL
DISCUSSIONS WITHOUT CONFRONTING CHINESE WITH ISSUE OF
ATTENDING SOVIET-SPONSORED WDC. THIS ASPECT COULD ALSO
BE ATTRACTIVE TO SOME EUROPEAN NEUTRALS AND A FEW OTHER
COUNTRIES NOT TOTALLY TIED TO NON-ALIGNED GROUP.

4. US POSITION: WE CONTINUE TO OPPOSE THE EARLY CONVEN-

ING OF A WDC AND CONSIDER, AS DELOFF INDICATED TO PRC DELOFF CHOU NAN (REF B), THAT A SS WOULD ENTAIL MOST OR ALL OF THE DRAWBACKS WE PERCEIVE IN A WDC. IN OUR JUDGMENT, AT CURRENT STAGE OF DISARMAMENT PROCESS SS WOULD BE NO MORE LIKELY TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS THAN WOULD WDC. COMPLEXITY OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS CALLS FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION BY EXPERTS IN SETTING CONDUCTIVE TO THOUGHTFUL EXCHANGES RATHER THAN RHETORIC OR POLEMICS. MOST PROMISING ROUTE TOWARD PROGRES THEREFORE REMAINS VIA STRUCTURED FORUMS DIRECTED AT SPECIFIC NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVES (E.G., CCD, MBFR).

5. HOWEVER, AS INDICATED ABOVE WE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT UNGA MAJORITY ALMOST CERTAINLY WOULD SUPPORT ANY SS INITIATIVE, AND THAT OUR LEVERAGE AGAINST SUCH A MOVE IS LIMITED AT BEST. THEREFORE, PROVIDED IT WOULD PROMISE TO FORESTALL SS FOR TIME BEING, WE COULD ACCEPT THE SUGGESTION MADE TO CHOU NAN IN CONFIDENCE BY CHAIRMAN OF WDC AD HOC COMMITTEE, IRANIAN PERM REP HOVEYDA, OF ATTEMPTING TO KEEP COMMITTEE IN BEING ANOTHER YEAR UNDER MODESTLY REVISED MANDATE. SUCH A MANDATE COULD INVOLVE STUDYING

AND REPORTING ON REMAINING OBSTACLES TO CONVENING A WDC, PER HOVEYDA'S SUGGESTION, OR SOME OTHER TASK THAT DOES NOT ENCOMPASS ACTUAL PREPARATION FOR CONFERENCE NOR PROVIDE FOR ANY AUTOMATIC MOVE IN FUTURE TOWARD SUCH PREPARATION.

6. TACTICS: DRAWING ON PARAS 4 AND 5 ABOVE, MISSION SHOULD TELL CHINESE THAT WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN THEIR REACTIONS TO HOVEYDA'S SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING EXTENSION OF AD HOC COMMITTEE'S EXISTENCE. WE COULD ACCEPT SUCH AN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EXTENSION UNDER APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS; PRC MIGHT INFORM IRANIANS OF THIS IF CHINESE THEMSELVES PLAN TO RESPOND AFFIRMATIVELY. IF APPROACHED DIRECTLY BY IRANIANS, YOU SHOULD TAKE SAME LINE, POINTING OUT THAT COMMITTEE'S REPORT TO CURRENT UNGA IMPLICITLY REVEALS THAT NUMBER OF REAL OBSTACLES TO WDC PERSIST AND ADDING THAT WE THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE COMMITTEE EXPLORE THESE OBSTACLES MORE FULLY AND REPORT IN DUE COURSE TO ASSEMBLY. ON BASIS OF COMMITTEE'S REPORT, UNGA COULD THEN TAKE ADEQUATELY INFORMED DECISION ON WHETHER IT WAS WORTHWHILE TO PURSUE WDC QUESTION FURTHER.

7. IF QUERIED BY OTHER DELS, MISSION MAY POINT OUT THAT US POSITION ON WDC IS WELL KNOWN AND UNCHANGED, AND THAT AN SS WOULD SUFFER FROM SAME DRAWBACKS. MISSION MAY

POINT OUT THAT US SHARES WITH OTHERS ULTIMATE GOAL OF
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT UNDER EFFECTIVE INTERNA-
TIONAL CONTROL. HOWEVER, PROPER APPROACH TO THAT GOAL
IS VIA CONCRETE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS REACHED INEXPERT
NEGOTIATING FORUMS. WE DO NOT SEE HOWEITHER WDC OR SS
COULD CONTRIBUTE MEANINGFULLY AT THISTIME TO SOLVING
THE DIFFICULT AND COMPLEF ISSUES INVOLVED INSEEKING
DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENS.

8. MISSION SHOQLD REPORT ON STATUS OF WDC/SS POSITION,
PARTICULARLY ON PROSPECTS FOR EXTENSION OF AD HOC
COMMITTEE UNDER MANDATE WE CAN ACCEPT. IF EFFORTS TO
THIS END DO NOT SUCCEED, WE WILL CONSIDER WHATOTHER
MOVES MAY BE INDICATED. KISSINGER

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